

## PUBLIC POLICY FORMATION

Professor Crowley  
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Office Hours: By Appointment  
AND Tuesdays, 2:00-4:00pm, Thursdays, Noon-1:00pm  
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Course: 34:833:510:02  
Tues.: 4:30pm-7:10pm  
CSB 369  
Fall 2009

*The tyranny of a prince in an oligarchy is not so dangerous to the public welfare as the apathy of a citizen in a democracy.*  
—Montesquieu

It is common these days to gripe about politics. The criticisms are well-known: All politicians are corrupt, you cannot trust government, and so forth. Some citizens even wear their intention not to vote as a badge of honor—"I will not dignify the political process with my participation." The theme of this course is to understand the public policy process with optimism rather than cynicism. We will see that many of the inadequacies of our current system are actually the necessary by-products of a government that is run by the people. In brief, this course will encourage you to note that while there are numerous problems that plague contemporary politics, the United States remains one of the most productive and enduring democracies in the world.

Conceptually, this course is divided into three sections. The first part of the course delves into the policy-making process and how new ideas are ultimately generated into workable public policies. The second and third parts of the course deal with the major and secondary institutions that are responsible for the creation of public policy.

### Course Requirements

This class will be run as a seminar, with a short lecture followed by a class discussion, typically on a case. It is therefore critical that you do all assigned readings, including cases, prior to coming to class. **PLEASE BRING READINGS INCLUDING CASES TO CLASS EVERY WEEK.** *I take class participation extremely seriously.* It therefore will be worth 10/100 points of your final grade. Participation will be based on the following two factors: (1) Group work based on cases (9 points), (2) Attentive attendance at all class sessions (1 point). Please let me know in advance if you cannot make a class session.

There will be 2 papers required for this class, one which will focus on agenda-setting and the second on implementation. Half of the class will present their papers on agenda-setting in the middle of the term, and the second half will present their papers on implementation at the end of the term. Each paper should be 15-17 pages long and will be worth 40/100 points of your grade. Individual oral presentations will be worth 10/100 points of your grade. Papers are due **AT THE BEGINNING** of class (within the first 5 minutes of class); students will lose 3 points if they are turned in after the start of class or after class and 3 points per day after that (i.e. the best grade

one can get on a 10 point assignment would be 7 points). Only hard copies will be accepted. Students must also upload their papers to Sakai under the Assignment tab. No exceptions.

GRADING POLICY: 90-100:A; 87-89:B+; 80-86:B; 77-79:C+; 70-76:C; 69 and below is a failing grade. Violations of academic integrity will be taken very seriously. Definitions of plagiarism and other violations, along with their penalties, are posted in a document on Sakai called "Academic Integrity." Each student is responsible for reading and understanding this document. All Papers will be run through Turnitin.com, an anti-plagiarism service.

The following required books must be purchased at the bookstore on Albany Street. All other readings will be available on Sakai: <http://sakai.rutgers.edu/> or for purchase at the Harvard JFK School Case program website: <http://www.ksgcase.harvard.edu/>.

### **Books:**

#### **Required:**

Derthick, Martha. 2005. *Up in Smoke*, Second Edition. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

Sabatier, Paul, editor. 2007. *Theories of the Policy Process*, 2nd ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Theodoulou, Stella Z., and Cahn, Matthew A. 1995. *Public Policy: The Essential Readings*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

#### **Optional:**

Wilson, James Q. 2009. *American Government, Brief Version*, 9<sup>th</sup> ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. (Readings from Wilson are optional and will be in parentheses).

## **PART I. THE POLICY-MAKING PROCESS**

September 1: Introduction to the Policy-making Process. Agenda-Setting.

Kingdon (Reading #13): 1 article in *Public Policy*, eds. Stella Z. Theodoulou and Matthew A. Cahn. Upper-Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Sabatier, Chapters 3-4.

Derthick, Chapter 1.

**NO CLASS on September 8.**

**FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11: 10:00AM-11:30am MANDATORY LIBRARY**

**ORIENTATION SESSION with librarian Mary Fetzer.**

**Teleconference Lecture Hall, 4<sup>th</sup> Floor, Alexander Library.**

September 15: Agenda-Setting (con't)/Implementation.

Sabatier, Chapters 6-7.

Sabatier, Paul. 1986. "Top-Down and Bottom-Up Approaches to Implementation Research: A Critical Analysis and Suggested Synthesis." *Journal of Public Policy* 6(1):21-48.

Derthick, Chapter 2.

Case: Energy Emergency Assistance, #695.

September 22 Implementation/Evaluation. **One Page Paper Proposal Due at the Beginning of Class.**

Majone and Wildavsky (#17), Sabatier and Mazmanian (#18), Nachmias (#19): 3 articles in *Public Policy*, eds. Stella Z. Theodoulou and Matthew A. Cahn. Upper-Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Matland, Richard E. 1995. "Synthesizing the Implementation Literature: The Ambiguity-Conflict Model of Policy Implementation." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 5(2):145-174.

Popkin, Susan, George C. Galster, Kenneth Temkin, Carla Herbig, Diane K. Levy, and Elise K Richer. 2003. "Obstacles to Desegregating Public Housing: Lessons Learned from Implementing Eight Consent Decrees." *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 22(2): 179-199.

Derthick, Chapter 3.

Case: Conflicting Findings: Evaluating WIC. #680.

## **PART II. THE MAIN PLAYERS**

September 29: Congress.

Kahn (#22), Mayhew (#24), and Fiorina (#23): 3 Articles in *Public Policy*, eds. Stella Z. Theodoulou and Matthew A. Cahn. Upper-Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Derthick, Chapter 4.

Case: Breaking the "Circle of Poison": Senator Patrick Leahy and Pesticide Export Controls, #1583.

(Wilson, Chapter 9.)

October 6: The Presidency

Light (#25), Neustadt (#43), and Wildavsky (#26): 3 Articles in *Public Policy*, eds. Stella Z. Theodoulou and Matthew A. Cahn. Upper-Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Derthick, Chapter 5.

Case: Defining Torture in the War on Terror Sequel, #1854.1

(Wilson, Chapter 10.)

October 13: The Judiciary.

Baum (#30) and Glazer (#31): 2 Articles in *Public Policy*, eds. Stella Z. Theodoulou and Matthew A. Cahn. Upper-Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Derthick, Chapter 6.

Case: A Change of Heart: Abortion and the Missouri General Assembly. #1007.0.

(Wilson, Chapter 12.)

October 20: **Paper #1 Due in Class.**

**Oral Presentations.**

### PART III. THE “SECOND STRING”

- October 27: The Bureaucracy: Culture, Organization, and its Impact on the Budget.  
Wilson (#27), Weber (#28), and Meier (#29): 3 Articles in *Public Policy*, eds.  
Stella Z. Theodoulou and Matthew A. Cahn. Upper-Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-  
Hall.  
Derthick, Chapter 7.  
Case: Hurricane Katrina (B): Responding to an “Ultra-Catastrophe” in New  
Orleans, #1844  
(Wilson, Chapter 11.)
- November 3: Elections, Campaigns, and the Media. Guest Speaker- Pat Walsh, Republican  
Somerset County Freeholder of New Jersey.  
Iyengar and Kinder (#32) and Graber (#33): 2 Articles in *Public Policy*, eds.  
Stella Z. Theodoulou and Matthew A. Cahn. Upper-Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-  
Hall.  
Derthick, Chapter 7.  
(Wilson, Chapter 8.)
- November 10: Party Politics.  
Eldersveld (#34): 1 Article in *Public Policy*, eds. Stella Z. Theodoulou and  
Matthew A. Cahn. Upper-Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall.  
Derthick, Chapter 9.  
Case: Among Friends: Lynn Martin, Jerry Lewis, and the Race for the Chair of  
the House Republican Conference, #885.  
(Wilson, Chapter 7.)
- November 17: The States and Localities.  
Derthick, Martha. 2001. *Keeping the Compound Republic*. Washington, DC:  
Brookings Institution Press. (Chp. 1, 8-10)  
Derthick, Chapter 10.  
Cases: The Massachusetts State Lottery, #1125 and Wichita Confronts  
Contamination: Seeking Alternatives to Superfund (A), #1157  
(Wilson, Chapter 5.)
- November 24: The People.  
Putnam, Robert. 2000. *Bowling Alone*. New York: Simon and Schuster. Pp. 15-  
28.  
Mills (#10): 1 Article in *Public Policy*, eds. Stella Z. Theodoulou and Matthew A.  
Cahn. Upper-Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall.  
Derthick, Chapter 11.  
Case: Language and the Melting Pot: Florida’s 1988 Official English  
Referendum, #990  
(Wilson, Chapter 6.)

December 1: Interest Groups and Conclusions. Guest Speaker: TBA. From PETA.  
Schattschneider, E.E. 1957. "Intensity, Visibility, Direction and Scope." *The American Political Science Review* 51(1):933-942.  
Truman (#9), Hamilton, Madison, and Jay (#39), and Berry (#35): 3 Articles in *Public Policy*, eds. Stella Z. Theodoulou and Matthew A. Cahn. Upper-Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall.  
Derthick, Chapter 12.

December 8: **Paper #2 Due In Class.**  
**Oral Presentations.**

## PAPER ASSIGNMENTS

Students will be required to write 2 papers for this class, each between 15-17 pages (not including the bibliography). Style requirements are attached and must be followed. As you think about your papers, I encourage you to make an appointment with me so we can discuss your plans in further detail.

The papers ask you to think about a piece of legislation, either at the federal or state level, from its initial incarnation as a simple idea to its ultimate adoption and beyond. You should select a recent piece of legislation, but not so recent such that the policy has not been implemented yet (laws should be between 2-10 years old). In each paper, you must develop a thesis ABOUT THE POLICY PROCESS and support your arguments with primary sources (legislative hearings, reports, and testimony must be used, as well as books, newspapers, journals). In doing so, you MUST integrate theory from the course readings and lectures. You also MUST include references to course readings beyond the readings dealing with implementation and agenda-setting theory. Please consult with the research librarians at Alexander Library if you have any questions about reference materials.

### *Paper #1. Agenda-Setting*

The first paper requires that you apply a particular agenda-setting theory to the legislative history of a particular law that was passed within the last ten years. You must use one of the 4 theoretical frameworks we discussed in class or in the readings: multiple streams (Kingdon), social construction theory, punctuated equilibrium, or advocacy coalition. Papers can focus on a variety of issues, but in some way must address the following set of questions:

How did this issue appear on the public agenda? Who were the proponents of the bill? Who were the opponents of the bill? How did both public and private actors influence the debate around the issue? Who were the key legislative sponsors of the measure, and what role did they play in transforming the bill into law (i.e., through hearings, votes, testimony)? What was the role of the President or the Governor in the passage of the law? How does the bill differ from the final law? Why does it differ?

### *Paper #2. Implementation*

The second paper asks you to apply a theory of implementation to your chosen piece of legislation. You must use one of the following 3 frameworks: 1) Sabatier and Mazmanian's top down model, 2) Hjern et al.'s bottom up model, or 3) Matland's 4-way typology of implementation. In focusing on implementation, your paper should examine questions such as the following: What agency was responsible for implementing this law? What problems did the agency encounter in transforming the law into a workable program? How were these problems overcome?

Suggested Sources for Research: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, *National Journal Reports*, *CQ Weekly*, *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, *CIS Index* and *U.S. Code Congressional and Administrative News* (for legislative histories and hearings). The Center for Government Services maintains a library in the Bloustein School for those of you researching New Jersey legislation.

## WRITING A PAPER: STYLE SHEET

**“Tell me what you are going to tell me. Tell me. Tell me what you told me.”**

1. Understand the Question. Make sure you are prepared to answer the question.
2. Make an Argument: This involves taking a stand on an issue and marshalling evidence to support the stand.
3. Outline
  - A. First paragraph- I should know what your argument is. Hit me over the head with it. Also, provide me with a road map of your paper.
  - B. The body of paper should include your points of proof. Please transition between paragraphs.
  - C. Last Paragraph-Make sure you include a solid conclusion. Repeat thesis. Add to thesis.

### STYLE

1. Avoid run-on sentences, general reflections, and the passive voice. **There is a handout on Sakai related to the passive voice—please read it.**
2. Follow basic format requirements exactly. This means 12 pt font, one inch margins, double-spaced, and page numbers.
3. Always spell check, spell out numbers less than ten, and keep to the paper’s length. (except tables and graphs should be called Table 1 and Graph 1, for example).
4. Always include an alphabetized bibliography.
5. CITATIONS: You must cite your sources within the text in the following format (Author Year, Page Number) or (Author Year)-if no page number is appropriate. EXAMPLE: “I love the word Blah” (Brown 1999, 56). Note that the period comes *after* the parentheses. Please consult 1998 or later version of the *American Political Science Review (APSR)* (also known as APSA Style) for appropriate format. You can examine articles with their citation styles by accessing APSR through the JSTOR online journal database available at the Rutgers University Libraries website. **Finally, there is a handout on Sakai related to APSR and APSA style—please read it.** Cite ideas that are not your own, quotes, statistics, etc. You should include the complete citation for Brown in the alphabetized bibliography.
6. Do not string together a series of quotes. Use your own words. If you must use quotes, follow these guidelines. If the quote is under 3 lines, use quotation marks. Example: “If I do not use quotation marks correctly, Prof. Crowley will go crazy.”  
More on quotes: If the quote is more than 3 lines, indent it, single space it, and do *not* use quotation marks. Example:

The meaning of Blah is simple. You simply need to address all aspects of the word. Blah can be used in a variety of different circumstances. Most of us would like to use the word Blah all of the time because it is better than Yada, Yada, Yada (Brown 1999, 56).
7. Avoid contractions, informal language, and weak words like “feel,” “says,” “believe,” “seem,” “get,” and “appear.”
8. Identify interest groups as having a particular political leaning if they have one (i.e., the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank,..)

9. Underline or italicize book, journal, and newspaper titles in the text, footnotes, and bibliography.
10. Members of Congress should be identified the first time they appear in your paper as follows: Robert Torricelli (D-NJ), and thereafter as simply Torricelli or Senator Torricelli.
11. Do not identify scholars as professors, but rather as a member of their field. (i.e., political scientist John Kingdon, NOT Professor John Kingdon)
12. Use footnotes to cite statistics, explain data, and to provide the reader with more info. Footnotes should appear at the end of sentences.
13. Always capitalize Congress, President, House, House of Representatives, and Senate.
14. Do not end sentences with a preposition.

**RESOURCES:**

Rutgers CAC Kreeger Learning Resource Center: This Center will help you edit and rewrite your papers.  
Contact: Shawn Taylor in room 122 at [sktaylor@rutgers.edu](mailto:sktaylor@rutgers.edu) or 732-932-6736.